

# PEKING REVIEW

46

November 16, 1973

北京周報

**Chairman Mao Meets  
President Stevens**

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Secretary of State Kissinger**

*Preventing Nuclear War, or  
Contending for Nuclear Superiority?*

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## Chairman Mao Meets President Stevens

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung met Dr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, in a cordial and friendly atmosphere on the afternoon of November 7.

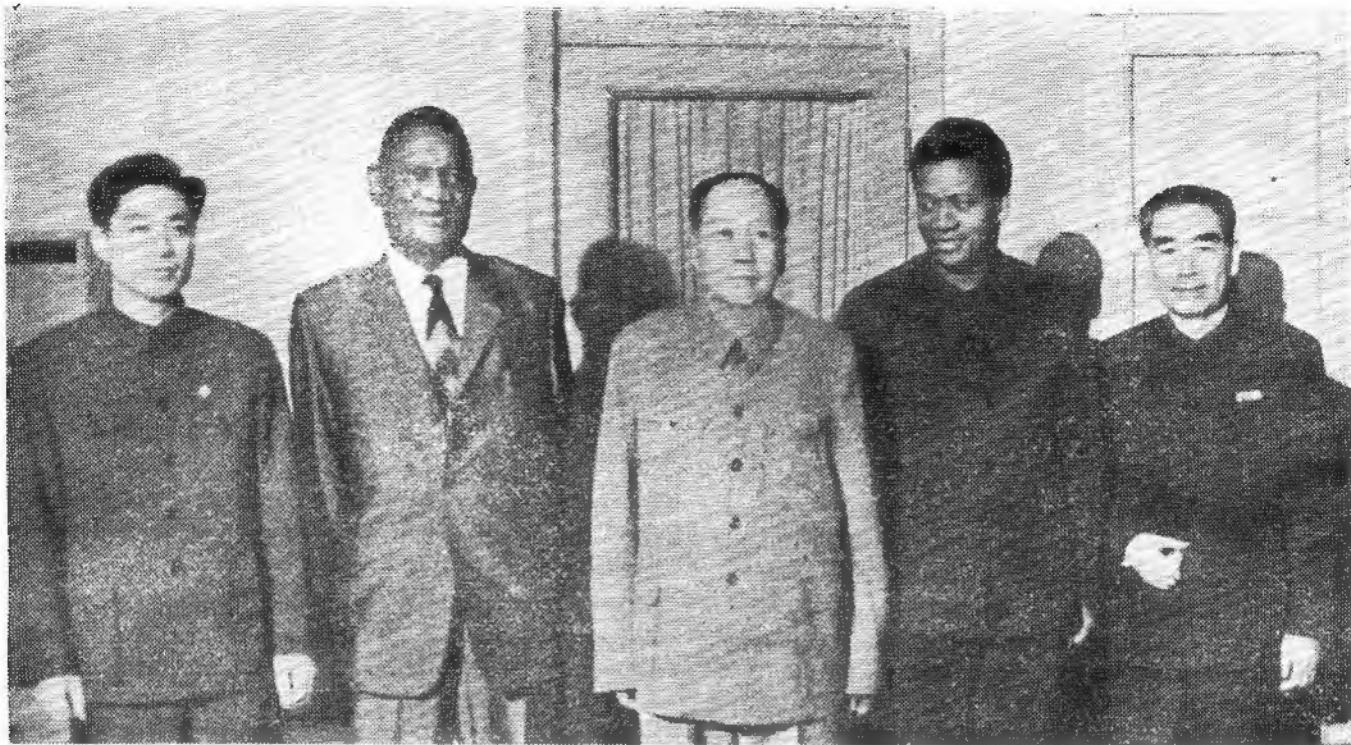
President Stevens is the fifth head of state in Africa who has come to visit China this year. When President Stevens, accompanied by D.E.F. Luke, Minister of External Affairs, arrived at Chungnanhai in Peking, Chairman Mao warmly shook hands with them. President Stevens said: "We are very happy to be here." Chairman Mao said: "We are also very glad to meet

you. We wish all of you in Africa further development. Your development will be beneficial to the whole of the world. The African people are bound to stand up."

At the suggestion of Chairman Mao, the leaders of the two countries had a photograph taken together at the end of the meeting.

Present on the occasion were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen, Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung, and Tang Wen-sheng and Shen Jo-yun.





## President Stevens Visits China

PEKING warmly welcomed last week Dr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone. The Head of State from this friendly country in west Africa arrived in the capital on November 6 for a state visit to China.

Accompanying the President were D.E.F. Luke, Minister of External Affairs, and other distinguished Sierra Leone guests.

On November 6, tens of thousands of people in Peking gathered at the airport and in the main streets of the capital to give an enthusiastic welcome to the African guests and express firm support for the Sierra Leone people's just struggle in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Hsu Hsiang-chien and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-pei were among those welcoming President Stevens at the airport.

China and Sierra Leone are separated by tens of thousands of miles, but the two peoples have

always supported and sympathized with each other in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. When Sierra Leone proclaimed its independence in 1961, the Chinese Government cabled recognition and congratulations and sent a delegation to participate in the celebrations.

President Stevens has all along made efforts to promote friendly relations between Sierra Leone and China. In 1963, he came to China on a friendly visit as the head of a delegation. A government delegation led by Christian Kamara-Taylor visited China in 1971. In the same year China and Sierra Leone established diplomatic relations, thereby opening broader prospects for friendly co-operation between the two countries.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, friendly relations and co-operation based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have been growing daily between both countries. President Stevens' second visit will surely make new contributions to the development of this friendship.

Chairman Mao met President Stevens in Chungnanhai the day after the guests arrived. Premier Chou gave a grand banquet in the Great Hall of the People in honour of the guests that evening. The Premier and the President delivered warm speeches at the banquet. (For excerpts of the speeches see pp. 8-9.)

President Stevens and Premier Chou had sincere and friendly talks in Peking. The Sierra Leone guests visited the Peking Iron Mine, the Miyun Reservoir, and an exhibition on arts and crafts and toured the Great Wall, Ting Ling (one of the Ming tombs) and other places of interest. They were warmly welcomed wherever they went.

President Stevens gave a banquet on the eve of his departure from Peking. Chinese leaders Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Hsu Hsiang-chien, and Chi Peng-pei attended. Hosts and guests toasted the steady development of friendly relations and co-operation between both countries, the constant growth of friendship between the two peoples, and the ever stronger unity of the peoples of Africa and the rest of the Third World.

President Stevens and his party left Peking on November 10 to visit other parts of the country.

# **Chairman Mao Meets Secretary of State Kissinger**

**C**HAIRMAN Mao Tsetung met with Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, U.S. Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, at Chungnanhai in Peking on the afternoon of November 12.

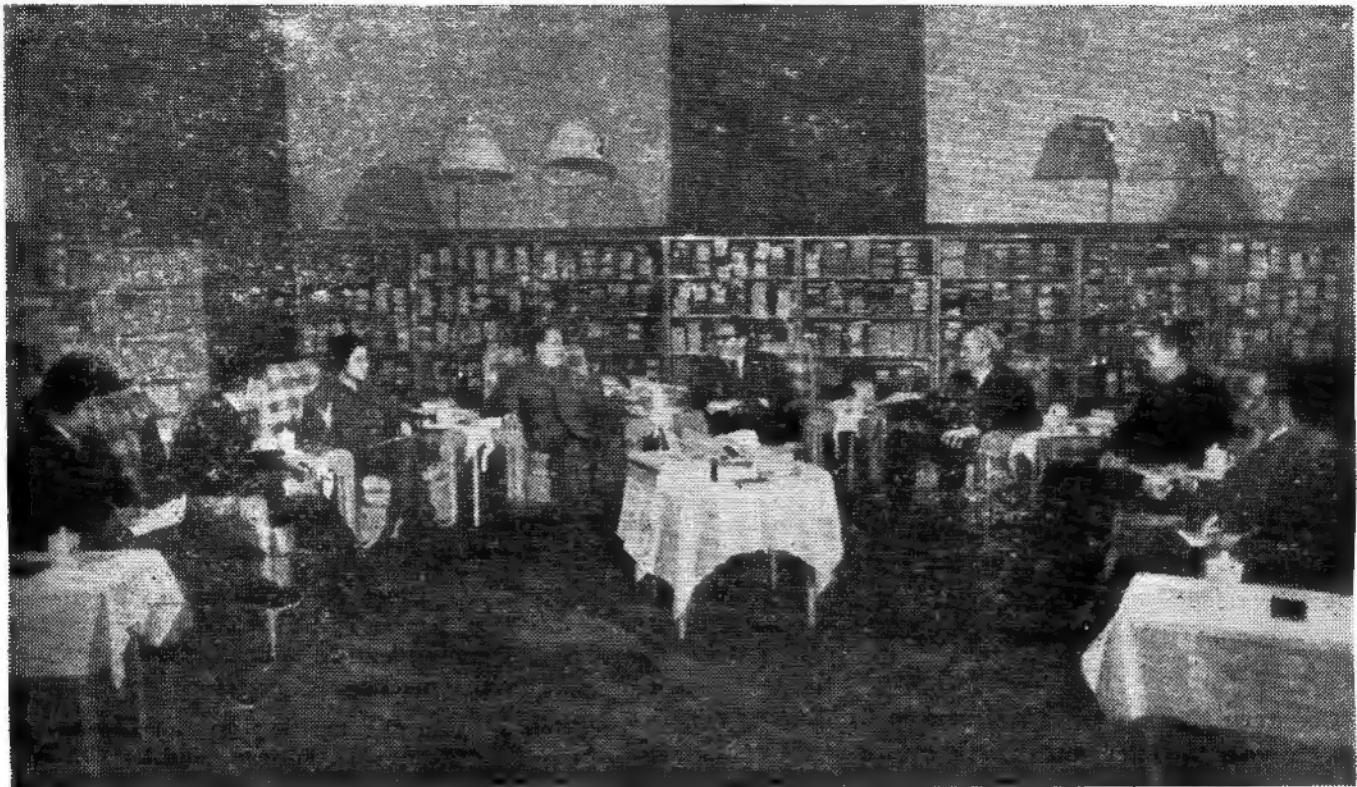
Chairman Mao expressed welcome to Dr. Kissinger on his revisit to China and had a conversation with him on a wide range of subjects in a friendly atmosphere. At the end of the meeting, Chairman Mao

asked Secretary of State Kissinger to convey his regards to President Richard Nixon.

David Bruce, Chief of the Liaison Office of the United States of America in China, and Winston Lord, Director of Planning and Co-ordination Staff designate, took part in the meeting.

Taking part in the meeting on the Chinese side were Premier Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fel, Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung, and Tang Wen-sheng and Shen Jo-yun.





## Secretary of State Kissinger In Peking

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, U.S. Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and his party visited China from November 10 to 14.

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei gave a banquet in honour of Dr. Kissinger and his party on the evening of their arrival in Peking. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying and others attended the banquet. David Bruce, Chief of the Liaison Office of the United States of America in China; and Alfred Jenkins and John Holdridge, Deputy Chiefs of the Office; and others were also present.

In his toast at the banquet, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei welcomed Secretary of State Kissinger and the other American guests and took the opportunity to express his greetings to the great American people.

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei said: Many significant events have taken place in the international arena since Dr. Kissinger's visit to China last February, which prove convinc-

ingly that great disorder throughout the world is the characteristic of the present international situation. In our view, this disorder is the inevitable consequence of the development of history and is a good thing for the people, not a bad thing. Through this disorder, the people are being further tempered, seeing the way ahead more clearly, strengthening their unity and increasingly taking their destiny into their own hands.

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei stated: There are undoubtedly differences of views between our two sides on a series of questions, but as shown by experience in the past two years and more, it is beneficial for the two sides to have candid exchanges of views. Since the visit of President Nixon to China and the issuance of the Sino-U.S. Communique in Shanghai, liaison offices have been set up both in China and the United States, and exchanges of various kinds have happily developed between our two peoples. The mutual understanding between the two peoples has deepened, and their friendship strengthened. This is a good start and accords with the interests and desires of our two peoples. We

are confident that so long as we go forward in the direction set by the Shanghai communique, the goal of normalizing Sino-American relations can be attained.

Dr. Kissinger said in his toast: This is the 6th time that I have had the privilege of visiting China and today's journey retraced the secret trip that I took in July 1971. None of us who took this trip can ever forget the sense of excitement when we entered China for the first time. It was not only that we were visiting a new country, and what we thought was the mysterious country until the Prime Minister pointed out to me that it was due more to our ignorance than to its mystery. But it was above all because we knew that the normalization of relations between China and the United States was essential for the peace of the world. We set ourselves then the task of moving forward with determination towards the normalization of relations, towards establishing friendly relationship between the people of the United States and the people of China.

Dr. Kissinger said: As before, the Foreign Minister pointed out we have made good progress, we have liaison

offices in each other's capital, and we have increased exchanges between our two countries. But we are determined to do much more and to complete the process that we started two years ago as rapidly as possible.

He continued: In the Shanghai communique, we set ourselves some important common objectives: that we would oppose hegemony, that we would not speak on behalf of a third country and that we would live by the principles of peaceful coexistence. And we are determined to live up to the Shanghai communique.

And so, as I am here for the 6th time, China is no longer mysterious to us. We have learnt that the Chinese words count and that every promise that we have made to each other has been kept. And we have learnt too that the peace and well-being of our two peoples is in the interest of our two peoples and is in the interest of the entire world.

So, Dr. Kissinger added, my colleagues and I are here with an open heart to speed the progress towards the normalization of relations, to further the objectives of the Shanghai communique, to exchange ideas about the problems of peace in Asia and peace in the world. And we know we will make as good progress as we have on every previous trip.

Dr. Kissinger gave a banquet in the banquet hall of the Great Hall of the People on the evening of November 13. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, Vice-Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and others attended. Also present were David Bruce, Chief of the Liaison Office of the United States of America in China, and Mrs. Bruce; Deputy Chiefs Alfred Jenkins and John Holdridge, and other officials, of the office; and members of Dr. Kissinger's party.

In his toast, Dr. Kissinger said: It is extremely appropriate that we should be inviting our Chinese friends to a dinner in their own home. The great art of our Chinese friends has been to make their American guests feel, wherever they go, as if they were at home.

He said: I asked some of my associates who are supposed to be Chinese experts whether they knew a Chinese proverb which would be appropriate to the occasion, and they gave me one, which says, "When among friends a thousand cups are not enough." And all I can say is that we have certainly been practising this at the head table.

Dr. Kissinger said: As we conclude our stay in the People's Republic of China, we leave, as we have on each of the five previous visits, with a feeling of satisfaction at the progress that has been made and with a feeling of warmth about the relationships that have been established. When President Nixon came here less than two years ago on the journey that resulted in the Shanghai communique, he was the pioneer. But the journey that was started by President Nixon has since become a necessity for all Americans. And no matter what happens in the United States in the future, friendship with the People's Republic of China is one of the constant factors of the American foreign policy. And this is because our relationship is based on both necessity and principle and because we have lived up to this principle and because we have understood our necessity.

Dr. Kissinger went on: After we leave, we shall publish a communique. But the significance of this journey, as of our relationship, will not be contained in the words of a document. They will be contained in the relationship that has been established and in the future that we have charted.

He said: I had the privilege of farsighted and extensive discussions with Chairman Mao and long and constructive talks with the Prime Minister, and it is clear that the friendship of our two peoples will be strengthened in the future. And the principles of the Shanghai communique will be strengthened and reaffirmed and the normalization of our relationship will proceed continuously.

Dr. Kissinger said: We assure you that the progress that has been made in our relationship will continue in

the years ahead whatever happens in the future. He proposed a toast, on behalf of President Nixon and all of his colleagues, to the health of Chairman Mao and to the lasting friendship of the Chinese and American peoples.

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei in his toast said: In the past three days, Premier Chou En-lai has had a number of talks with Dr. Kissinger on promoting the normalization of Sino-American relations and on international issues of common interest. Moreover, officials of both countries held concrete discussions on the question of further developing exchanges between China and the United States in various fields. And in particular, Chairman Mao Tsetung again met Dr. Kissinger and had a conversation with him on a wide range of subjects. It should be said that as a result of Dr. Kissinger's sixth visit to China, each side is better acquainted with the positions and policies of the other on a series of major issues, and this is most beneficial to both sides.

He said: History is moving ahead and mankind is progressing. We are confident that the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples will grow stronger and stronger in the days to come and that, on the basis of the Shanghai communique, Sino-American relations will make steady progress towards the goal of normalization.

Foreign Minister Chi proposed a toast to the health of President Nixon and to the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples.

### Cambodian Special Envoy Ieng Sary Leaves for Home

Ieng Sary, Special Envoy of the Interior Part of the Royal Government of National Union and the National United Front of Cambodia, left Peking for home on November 9.

He was honoured at a farewell banquet given on November 8 by Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the

(Continued on p. 10.)

## Premier Chou En-lai's Speech

HIS Excellency President Siaka Stevens is an old friend with whom we are well-acquainted. He previously visited China in 1963 and made positive contributions to the enhancement of friendship between the peoples of China and Sierra Leone. This time, it fills us with exceptional warmth and joy that His Excellency President Stevens has come to our country for a state visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government, bringing with him the sentiments of profound friendship of the Government and people of Sierra Leone.

Sierra Leone is a beautiful and richly-endowed country on the west coast of Africa. The people of Sierra Leone is an industrious and valiant people with a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism. For over a century, they waged a long and determined struggle to resist foreign aggression and free themselves from colonial rule and oppression, winning national independence at last in 1961. Since 1968, under the leadership of His Excellency President Stevens, the people of Sierra Leone have smashed the subversive schemes of imperialism one after another, safeguarded their national independence and state sovereignty, and worked tirelessly and achieved happy successes in developing their national economy and culture and building their country.

Externally, the Government of Sierra Leone pursues a policy of non-alignment, opposes imperialism and colonialism, stands for equality of all nations, big and small, opposes the plunder and exploitation of small and medium-sized countries by big powers and resolutely protects Sierra Leone's national resources and 200-nautical-mile maritime rights. It stands for strengthening African unity and actively supports other African peoples in their just struggles against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for national independence, thus making valuable contributions to the African cause of unity against imperialism. The Chinese Government and people heartily rejoice at the successes you have achieved and wish you continuous, new and even greater victories on your road of progress.

The present international situation is excellent. The world is in violent turbulence. The external expansion

of the two hegemonic powers and their acute rivalry are the causes of world tensions. Where their aggression and rivalry take place there will be no tranquillity and the countries and people will rise in resistance. The whole world is making progress in struggle and is changing amidst turbulence. The Third World countries and peoples have been tempered in the long struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and power politics. The level of their political consciousness and organization is steadily rising, and they have become a mighty force in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

An inspiring and vigorous new situation is emerging in the great African people's united struggle against imperialism. The national-liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique, Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia and other territories which have not yet become independent are developing in depth. Through the practice of struggle, they have come to see more and more clearly that armed struggle is the correct way to complete liberation. The birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is a signal victory in the African people's struggle for national independence. Of late, the militant unity of the independent African states has grown stronger than ever. The African countries and people resolutely stand by the Arab countries and people in their current just struggle against the Israeli aggressors. The fact that 27 African states have to date severed diplomatic relations with Israel fully demonstrates the heroic bravery of the great African people in upholding justice and opposing aggression and their strong fraternal support for their heroic Palestinian and Arab brothers.

The great African people are close comrades-in-arms and brothers of the Chinese people. The Chinese people will, as always, firmly stand on your side and resolutely support you in your just struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, big-power hegemonism, white racism and Zionism.

Though separated by vast oceans, China and Sierra Leone are both developing countries belonging to the Third World. We have always sympathized with and supported each other in our common cause of opposing

imperialism and building our respective countries. The formal establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Sierra Leone in 1971 has opened a new chapter in the development of friendly relations between our two countries. In the past two years and more, the fraternal ties between our two peoples have steadily strengthened, and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have developed satis-

factorily. I would like to take this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to the Government of Sierra Leone for supporting the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. I am sure that His Excellency the President's current visit to China will carry the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Sierra Leone to a new stage. I wish His Excellency the President's visit complete success.

## President Stevens' Speech

CHINA and the great Chinese people are not strange to me since I visited this great republic about a decade ago. However, I must confess that I am remarkably impressed by the great changes I have seen since my arrival. I wish at this stage to pay tribute to your great leader, Chairman Mao Tsetung, under whose hand and guidance you have been able to achieve this transformation through the line of socialist revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. And let me take this opportunity to thank Chairman Mao Tsetung for the honour he gave me by receiving me a few hours ago. Evidences of the struggles you have overcome and the battles you have won reverberate through all corners of the modern world and it is indeed an example for many of us to emulate. We are proud to be associated in a small way with this great revolution, for China and Sierra Leone are members of the Third World having gone through the degrading experience of exploitation through colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism. We have now emerged with vigour and we the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America join hands with the Chinese people to develop and foster good relationship for the mutual benefit of our two countries and peoples, based on the principles of mutual respect for the sovereignty of our states and the non-interference in our internal policy.

We are indeed happy to have been one of the sponsors of the United Nations resolution to restore to the people of the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the world community of nations, and today we are proud of our actions as we have in our midst this giant of Asia participating in the difficult process of restoring peace and tranquillity in this troubled world. The struggle of might against the rights of the oppressed peoples of the world continues. Only recently we have again witnessed the suppression of the legitimate wishes and aims of our brothers in southern Africa, where the

minority apartheid and racist regime continues to enslave the majority of millions of black people. We from Sierra Leone make this solemn pledge that we shall continue in like manner to aid and support our brothers in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and southern Africa in every way possible to destroy these forces of oppression and for ever wipe out colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism from the continent of Africa. We stand by our pledges and resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and we urge all parties concerned in the tragic events enacted in the Middle East in recent weeks to adopt an attitude not only consistent with their sovereignty but which will speedily lead to face-to-face negotiations aimed at a permanent peace founded on justice. I would like to thank you, Your Excellency, for your support and recognition of Guinea-Bissau as an independent sovereign state. We are happy that a measure of peace now reigns in the subcontinent of Asia and we here pay tribute to the support and contribution of the Chinese people in achieving this peace, and trust that those concerned will ensure that it remains a lasting peace. Eternal vigilance is the price we have to pay for our liberty and thus we cannot afford to relax but on the contrary to continue to keep our watchful eye on the ever changing situation.

Let me finally conclude by acknowledging with thanks the great assistance we have received and are receiving from the government and people of this great republic. We also want to thank you for the invaluable help you have been giving to our brothers and sisters in other parts of the continent of Africa, such as the Tanzam Railway. Mr. Prime Minister, please convey to your great leader, Chairman Mao Tsetung, our thanks and felicitation, we wish him prosperity and long life, in the same token please convey our gratitude to the other Chinese leaders and to all the people of China for their support of our just causes.

# COMMUNIQUE

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, U.S. Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, visited the People's Republic of China from November 10 to November 14, 1973. He was accompanied by Robert Ingersoll, Robert McCloskey, Arthur Hummel, Winston Lord, Oscar Armstrong, Jonathan Howe and Richard Solomon.

Chairman Mao Tsetung received Secretary Kissinger. They held a wide-ranging and far-sighted conversation in a friendly atmosphere. Secretary Kissinger conveyed greetings from President Nixon, and Chairman Mao Tsetung sent his greetings to the President.

Secretary Kissinger and members of his party held frank and serious talks with Premier Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, Vice-Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung, Director Lin Ping, Director Peng Hua, Tsien Ta-yung, Ting Yuan-hung and others.

Officials of the two sides conducted counterpart talks on bilateral issues of mutual concern and made good progress.

The two sides reviewed international developments since Dr. Kissinger's visit to the People's Republic of China in February, 1973. They noted that international relationships are in a period of intense change. They reaffirmed that they are committed to the principles established in the Shanghai communique and that disputes between states should be settled without resorting to the use or threat of force, on the basis of the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. In particular, they reiterated that neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or any other part of the world and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

The two sides agreed that in present circumstances it is of particular importance to maintain frequent contact at authoritative levels in order to exchange views and, while not negotiating on behalf of third parties, to engage in concrete consultations on issues of mutual concern.

Both sides reviewed progress made during 1973 in their bilateral relations. The U.S. side reaffirmed: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China; the United States Government does not challenge that position. The Chinese side reiterated that the normalization of relations between China and the United States can be realized only on the basis of confirming the principle of one China.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that the liaison offices in Peking and Washington are functioning smoothly. Both sides agreed that the scope of the functions of the liaison offices should continue to be expanded.

Exchanges have deepened understanding and friendship between the two peoples. The two sides studied the question of enlarging the exchanges between the two countries and agreed upon a number of new exchanges for the coming year.

Trade between the two countries has developed rapidly during the past year. The two sides held that it is in the interest of both countries to take measures to create conditions for further development of trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

The two sides stated that they would continue their efforts to promote the normalization of relations between China and the United States on the basis of the Shanghai communique.

Secretary Kissinger and his party expressed their gratitude for the warm hospitality extended to them by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

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(Continued from p. 7.)

State Council; Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Yao Wen-yuan and Li Hsien-nien, Members of the Political

Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Seeing the Special Envoy off at Peking Airport were Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Comrades Chang

Chun-chiao, Keng Piao and Han Nien-lung.

Ministers of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia Sain Chhak, Chau Seng, Chan Youran, Thiounn Mumm and Keat Chhon and other distinguished Cambodian guests in Peking were also at the airport.

# Kingdom of Cambodia's National Day Greeted

NOVEMBER 9 was the Kingdom of Cambodia's 20th National Day. The Chinese people extended their warm festive greetings to the fraternal Cambodian people, acclaiming the splendid victories won by them in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Tung Pi-wu, Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, on November 8 sent a message to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth most warmly congratulating them on the occasion.

The message said: "Under the outstanding leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the heroic Cambodian people have long waged a determined struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in defence of the independence, peace, neutrality and territorial integrity of their motherland. In the last three years and more the Cambodian people, rallying closely around the National United Front of Cambodia with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman, have given full play to their patriotism and revolutionary heroism, dealt heavy blows at the enemy on all fronts and achieved brilliant victories one after another. The Cambodian People's Armed Forces of National Liberation are fighting bravely and growing stronger and stronger in the course of their fight. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, whose international prestige is rising higher and higher, recently won another inspiring victory at the 4th Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries. The tremendous victories of the Cambodian people constitute an important contribution to the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the Asian and other peoples of the world."

"At present, the situation is very favourable to the just struggle of the Cambodian people. The traitorous Lon Nol clique is beset with difficulties at home and abroad, threatened by crises on all fronts and extremely isolated. We are convinced that the Cambodian people, united as one and persevering in struggle, will

surely defeat the traitorous Lon Nol clique and attain the sacred goal set by the 'five-point declaration' and the political programme of the National United Front of Cambodia.

"The Chinese and Cambodian peoples are close comrades-in-arms and brothers. Between us there exists a profound friendship which has stood the test of protracted struggle. The Chinese people will, as always, stand for ever on the side of the Cambodian people and firmly support them in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation till complete victory is won!"

A *Renmin Ribao* editorial on November 9 entitled "Warm Greetings to the Cambodian People's Glorious National Day" praised the Cambodian people's glorious tradition of anti-imperialist struggle and paid tribute to the people and Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia for pursuing a consistent policy of peace and neutrality, safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and supporting the just struggles of the people of various countries.

"Following the recognition of the R.G.N.U.C. as the sole legal government of Cambodia at the 4th Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries," the editorial said, "the United Nations General Assembly recently adopted the General Committee's proposal for the inclusion of the item 'Restoration of the Lawful Rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations' in the agenda of its current session. This is further strong proof that the Cambodian people enjoy abundant support in their just cause and have friends all over the world."

The paper also carried on the same day reports of victories of the patriotic Cambodian people and armed forces in wiping out 178,000 enemy troops and further expanding the Liberated Zone in 12 months of powerful offensives. It also reported the new look in the Liberated Zone of Cambodia.

## Cambodia: To Move Back Those R.G.N.U. Ministries Functioning Abroad

The Prime Minister's Office of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in a communique on November 9 announced the decision to move to the interior of Cambodia the ministries of the R.G.N.U.C. which have thus far performed their missions abroad, according to AKI.

The communique pointed out that, under the banner of the National United Front of Cambodia and the leadership of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the Cambodian people and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation had waged in the past three and a half years a heroic struggle for national and people's liberation and had scored numerous and brilliant victories of strategic significance.

The communique noted that in the international aspect, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia as the sole legal government had been recognized *de jure* by over 50 sovereign states and it receives support from many countries and peoples in the world.

The communique said: "The heroic struggle waged by the Cambodian people and the P.A.F.N.L.C., under the banner of the N.U.F.C. with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as Chairman and under the leadership of the R.G.N.U.C. with Samdech Penn Nouth as Prime Minister and Mr. Khieu Samphan as Vice-Prime Minister, has reached its final phase which will lead ineluctably and irreversibly

to total victory. Consolidated and enlarged constantly, the Liberated Zone already represents over 90 per cent of the national territory. Set up on all administrative levels, people's power now controls over five million and a half inhabitants.

"Considering this reality, it is decided, with the agreement of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and Chairman of the N.U.F.C., and Samdech Penn Nouth, Chairman of the Political Bureau of the N.U.F.C. Central Committee and Prime Minister of the R.G.N.U.C., and with the agreement of the Political Bureau of the N.U.F.C. Central Committee and the R.G.N.U.C., to move to the interior of the national territory of Cambodia the ministries of the R.G.N.U.C. which have to date performed their missions abroad. Thus, the R.G.N.U.C. (with all its ministries) is entirely installed in Cambodia where it exercises full and entire authority."

The communique said in conclusion, "Confident in their just cause and their inevitable victory, the Cambodian people, the N.U.F.C., the R.G.N.U.C., and the P.A.F.N.L.C. will continue with neither compromise nor retreat the sacred fight till the complete realization of the five points of the N.U.F.C. contained in the proclamation of Head of State and Chairman of the N.U.F.C. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on March 23, 1970 and solemnly reaffirmed by the National Congress on July 21, 1973."

### For Your Reference

## Israel's Four Wars of Aggression

PALESTINE had long been a land inhabited by Arabs; Jews also lived there, with the Arabs in the majority. To assemble for spheres of influence and strategic positions and plunder petroleum resources prior to World War II, the imperialists supported the Zionists, stepped up Jewish immigration into Palestine and did their best to foment conflicts between the Jews and the Arabs, so as to facilitate their aggressive activities and suppress the Arab people's movement for national independence.

As early as 1917, British Foreign Secretary Balfour, with U.S. concurrence, concocted the notorious "Balfour Declaration" which "envisages the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." This was followed by worldwide Jewish immigration into Palestine under the instigation of U.S. imperialism. After World War II, U.S. imperialism made further efforts to groom and foster Zionism, using it as a tool for its expansion in the Middle East, aggression against

the Arab countries and suppression of the Arab national-liberation movement. On November 29, 1947, the Second Session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on "partition" of Palestine which the Soviet Union voted for. The resolution stipulated that two states be founded in Palestine—one an Arab state with an area of 11,000 square kilometres, the other a Jewish state covering an area of 14,000 square kilometres—with the city of Jerusalem (158 square kilometres) under the United Nations' administration. While consenting to the resolution on "partition," the Zionists cold-bloodedly persecuted and slaughtered the Palestinian people. On May 14, 1948, they unilaterally proclaimed the establishment of "the state of Israel." It is crystal clear that the so-called state of Israel was artificially established on the basis of bloody oppression of the Palestinian people for the sole purpose of meeting the needs of imperialist aggression.

### The First Arab-Israeli War

War between Israel and the Arab countries broke out on May 15, 1948, the day after the establishment of "the state of Israel." Armistice agreements were signed in 1949 between the respective Arab countries and Israel, with those between Egypt and Jordan and Israel concluded through the intervention of the U.S. representative to the United Nations. In this war, Israel seized large tracts of Arab territory and occupied

the western half of Jerusalem, a total of 6,700 square kilometres. As a result, the area under actual Israeli control amounted to 20,700 square kilometres. Moreover, the Zionists drove a million Arabs in Palestine from their homeland to become refugees in neighbouring Arab countries. The Palestinian people were thus completely deprived of their national rights.

### The Second Arab-Israeli War

On July 26, 1956, the Egyptian Government nationalized the Suez Canal, a just action by the Egyptian people in defence of national sovereignty and independence. The imperialists, however, were not reconciled to their defeat. On October 29, Israel started a brazen war of aggression against Egypt. Thanks to the resolute resistance by the Arab people and the opposition and support of the world's people, Israel was compelled to withdraw to the 1949 truce line. During this week-long war from October 29 to November 6, Israel again occupied the Gaza Strip and Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and did not evacuate them until March 8, 1957.

In the second war, the Arab people won great victories in safeguarding their state sovereignty and national interests and opposing imperialism and foreign monopolists. What with heavy blows dealt to the imperialist colonial forces, the Arab people became more united and their struggle against imperialism and colonialism reached a new high.

### The Third Arab-Israeli War

From the end of the Suez War, Israel, with U.S. backing, constantly carried out armed provocations against the Arab countries and unceasingly created tension along the border. In the spring of 1967, it stepped up military provocations and subversive activities against Syria. While arrogantly clamouring about recourse to force of arms against Syria, Israel went so far as to mass troops along the Israeli-Syrian border. With Israel on the move in May 1967, war was imminent. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, however, did all it could to spread the illusion of "peace" to benumb the Arab people. On June 5, Israel, backed and abetted by the superpowers, mounted a surprise attack and in no time made inroads into Egypt, Jordan and Syria, with the result that the Arab countries suffered heavy military losses. In six days, Israel again occupied Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan River, that part of Jerusalem under Jordanian administration, the Gaza Strip and Syria's Golan Heights, a total of more than 65,000 square kilometres. And nearly another half a million Arabs became homeless refugees.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique played a particularly despicable and treacherous role in this incident. On the one hand, it continued to "assure" the Arab countries that Israel would not attack them so as to lull the Arab people and hypocritically supported their struggle. On the other hand, when the war erupted on June 5, it sold out the Arab countries



and, together with U.S. imperialism, hastily cooked up a "ceasefire" in favour of Israel, thereby creating a situation of "no war, no peace" which facilitated their contention for and division of spheres of influence.

The third war served to expose the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as an accomplice working in close partnership with imperialism to suppress the Arab national-liberation movement. Its treachery enabled the Arab people to see more clearly the true features of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as a false friend and to come to understand that their fate absolutely could not be dictated by the superpowers and that only by relying on their own efforts could they free themselves from the shackles of the superpowers and fulfil the task of recovering their lost territory and restoring their national rights.

To this end, the Arab and Palestinian people have carried on an unceasing struggle in the last six years or so. Bolstered by the superpowers, Israel, however, has continuously carried out provocative activities against the Arab countries.

### **The Fourth Arab-Israeli War**

On October 6, 1973, Egypt, Syria and the Palestinian guerrillas rose in action against the armed attack by Israeli troops. Victorious in the heroic battles against Israeli aggressor troops, Egypt again flew its national flag over the east bank of the Suez Canal which had been occupied for more than six years. The Syrian army and people inflicted heavy losses on the enemy in the Golan Heights, while the Palestinian guerrillas valiantly went forth against the Israeli forces. This made a breakthrough in the "no war, no peace" situation deliberately created by the two

superpowers, exploded the myth that Israel was "invincible," demonstrated the Arab and Palestinian people's firm fighting will and further promoted the unity of the Arab countries and people.

The two superpowers once again played an ignominious part in the entire event. By delivering a small quantity of arms to the Arab countries, the Soviet Union, far from giving any real support for a counter-offensive against Israeli aggression, actually intended to contend with the other superpower in a vain effort to control certain Arab countries. Their aim was to make the Arab and Palestinian people stop fighting, bind them hand and foot and place them at their mercy. It was precisely at the time when the situation was very favourable to the Arab people that the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States — rushed in with their proposal for a "ceasefire in place" on October 22, calling on the Arab countries to stop fighting.

This proposal in no way denounced Israeli aggression, nor did it clearly stipulate that Israel withdraw unconditionally and completely. It made no mention of restoring the Palestinian people's national rights. The essence of the so-called resolution on a "ceasefire in place" was designed to impose once again the situation of "no war, no peace" on the Arab countries and people. The destiny of the Arab people must be held in their own hands. No schemes by the superpowers can stem the advance of the heroic Arab and Palestinian people. They will certainly continue to break through the situation of "no war, no peace," persist in their unswerving struggle, strengthen unity and carry their just struggle against aggression and hegemonism through to the end.

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### **At the United Nations**

#### **Soviet Union's Fake Disarmament Exposed**

THE First (Political and Security) Committee of the United Nations General Assembly concluded on November 8 its general debate on the disarmament question which began October 23.

Soviet Representative A.A. Roschin who was the first to speak described the convening of a world disarmament conference as a "historically important matter" and declared that the Soviet Union "has been and will continue to be a staunch supporter of the convening of such a conference." Roschin did his best to sell the idea of such a conference, which is nothing but

a fraud. The Soviet Union, as is well known, is engaged in a frenzied arms race to contend for nuclear superiority and world hegemony with the other superpower.

In his speech, U.S. Representative Joseph Martin tried to make the "benefits" of "the non-proliferation treaty" and the "very substantial progress" in "the realm of strategic arms control" sound convincing. At the same time, however, he expressed the doubt: "While the conditions for security are not met, how can we expect general and complete disarmament under effective control?" He added that he did not believe a world disarmament conference "at this time" would produce useful results.

Albanian Representative Rako Naco pointed out in his speech that "while paying lip-services to disarmament, the two superpowers have stepped up the arms race. They have year after year increased their military budgets and armed forces, produced and improved new weapons of mass destruction. While trying to keep a

free hand to do so, the two superpowers have used every means to deprive the peoples and other sovereign states of the right to take necessary measures for legitimate defence, so as to disarm them and expose them to their blackmail and great military potential."

The Albanian representative said that in the present circumstances, it is an utopian idea to hope that the convocation of the world disarmament conference would achieve positive results concerning disarmament. It is clear that the proposal for the convocation of such a conference is simply for demagogic. It does not really serve disarmament but covers up the arms race.

He stressed: "A serious discussion on disarmament should first start with disarmament by the two superpowers which possess powerful military potential and constitute a major threat to world peace and security. But it is impossible for them to do so, because all their imperialist and social-imperialist policies are based on force of arms. For the peace-loving countries, under the present world situation, they are obliged to strengthen continuously their defensive ability to face all possible imperialist threats."

Charles Beavogui, Representative of Guinea, noted in his speech that those small and peace-loving countries who carried out no wars of aggression and had no designs on other's territory must arm themselves to defend their own security and national sovereignty. "It would be nonsensical to call on the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and other colonialist bastions, people who are struggling for their freedom and independence, to disarm." "As long as imperialism exists, war will remain a possibility," he said.

The Guinean representative said: "It must be incumbent upon all states to respect and guarantee the independence, security and territorial integrity of all nations." "The final settlement of local conflicts, the end of foreign intervention, whether political, economic or military, the eradication of military bases, the renunciation of the policy of zones of influence and hegemony, the extension of the denuclearization from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea, are all preliminary conditions that must precede true disarmament efforts."

French Representative Louis de Guiringaud pointed out in his statement that duende has not appeared in the field of disarmament. "Never has competition been so strong between those who have the most advanced and most awesome technology." Since the conclusion of the 1963 partial nuclear test-ban treaty and the 1968 non-proliferation treaty, the French representative said, "the nuclear over-armament race is being pursued without respite between the superpowers."

"Once France had resolved to follow an independent policy whatever the circumstances," he declared, "it decided to acquire the nuclear weapon . . . in order to guard against potential dangers." "France is thinking only of its own defence," he said, adding that "any re-

nunciation in this area would be tantamount to encouraging the over-armed nations to govern the world and to assume themselves the destiny of mankind."

Ortiz de Rozas, Representative of Argentina, noted that it is essential "that the superpowers translate their proclaimed intentions into deeds." Any action in that direction will demonstrate much more "than an abundant flow of words."

Representative of Zaire Ipoto Eyebo Bakand'asi denounced the two superpowers for seeking bilateral solutions in favour of their own interests on various questions outside the organic framework of the United Nations. He emphasized that such behaviour must be denounced.

H.S. Amerasinghe, Representative of Sri Lanka, pointed out that nothing could undermine the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons more than the attitude of the two most powerful nuclear states which continued to expand and sophisticate their armoury.

Representative of Sierra Leone Brima S. Kamarake said he appreciated China's position that all the nuclear countries must declare their obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and under any circumstances, particularly not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-weapon-free zones.

Representatives of many developing countries urged in their speeches that zones of peace should be created in the Indian Ocean as well as in the Mediterranean. Venezuelan Representative Leonardo Diaz Gonzalez expressed his regret that one nuclear power (the Soviet Union) had not heeded the repeated appeals for accession to additional protocol II to the Treaty of Tlatelolco, although "that power claimed it was a champion of disarmament."

## Soviet World Disarmament Conference Proposal Is a Fraud

ON November 6, Chinese Representative Wang Ming-hsiu addressed the First Committee meeting on the question of holding a so-called world disarmament conference. He reaffirmed the Chinese Government's principled stand on this question and exposed Soviet social-imperialism's vicious purpose of hurriedly urging the convening of such a conference.

He said: "China's position on the question of disarmament has been clear and consistent. We have always been in favour of disarmament and, at the same time, we have always been opposed to the various deceptive tricks on the question of disarmament used by the superpowers, particularly the Soviet Union. At present, the superpowers are armed to the teeth with

nuclear weapons, placing the people of the whole world under their nuclear threat. In order to contend for world hegemony, they are engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations in a drive for nuclear supremacy. In these circumstances, will it be possible to stop the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race? Is not the so-called reduction of military budgets by ten per cent sheer hypocrisy and open deception? In the present world situation, the key to the question of disarmament obviously lies in the nuclear disarmament of the two superpowers."

He stressed that if a world disarmament conference is to be held, there must be clear aims and the necessary pre-conditions, so as to break the nuclear threat of the superpowers and ensure that the conference will be conducive to the realization of nuclear disarmament. Failing this, any form of disarmament conference held purposelessly will fit the superpowers' needs of deceiving the world's people by their empty talk of disarmament.

### China's Consistent Stand

He went on to reaffirm the Chinese delegation's consistent stand that the aim of a world disarmament conference should be to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and, as the first step, to reach an agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons by all the nuclear countries. In order to ensure that all countries of the world, big or small, can attend the conference on an equal footing and free from any threat, all the nuclear countries, especially the Soviet Union and the United States, must declare that they undertake the following obligations: (1) Not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and under any circumstances, particularly not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-weapon-free zones; (2) Dismantle all military bases, including nuclear bases, set up on the territories of other countries and withdraw all their armed forces, including nuclear forces, from abroad.

Wang Ming-hsiu said: "However, in the past two years, the two superpowers have refused to accept these reasonable proposals. The Soviet Union, in particular, has so far not dared to come forward with a direct reply, and the only thing it has done is to wilfully distort and slander the above just propositions of the Chinese delegation. While evading the essence of the matter, the Soviet Union has tried by every possible means to impose on various countries of the world a world disarmament conference that can solve no problems. This can only further expose its ugly features of sham disarmament and genuine arms expansion."

### Social-Imperialism, a Downright Double-Dealer

He added: "The Soviet proposal for convening a world disarmament conference is a fraud. For more than the last decade the Soviet Union has been peddling general and complete disarmament and repeatedly made proposals for convening a world disarmament conference, masquerading as an angel of peace and the standard bearer of disarmament. But what has the

Soviet Union done over the past years? While energetically developing conventional weapons, it is expanding its nuclear arsenal on an unprecedented scale and at an unparalleled tempo and is feverishly expanding its ocean-going naval force. In the past decade, its intercontinental ballistic missiles have reportedly increased more than ten times and its submarine-launched ballistic missiles as well as the size of its 'strategic rocket forces' have also risen many fold. It has also developed ABM's and MIRV's. Total tonnage of warships of various types has doubled. Its fleets sail to almost every ocean in the world. At the same time, the Soviet Union has been steadily expanding and strengthening its forces and bases on foreign soil. Over the past decade or so, it has been talking about disarmament day in and day out while actually engaging in ceaseless arms expansion. On the question of disarmament, the Soviet Union has been saying one thing and doing another, and it is a downright double-dealer. The above facts fully show that the Soviet proposal for a world disarmament conference is aimed at spreading a peace smokescreen to lull the world's people and covering up its ugly social-imperialist features of aggression and expansion behind the mask of *détente*."

Wang Ming-hsiu refuted point by point the false arguments of the Soviet Union on the convocation of the world disarmament conference. To say that such a conference will limit the arms race and strengthen international security, he pointed out, is sheer deceptive talk. The past decade and more has seen the convocation of various forms of innumerable disarmament conferences and the conclusion of disarmament agreements and treaties of various descriptions. However, the more the talk about disarmament, the larger the armaments of the superpowers, and the more unbridled their aggression and expansion. The gravest menace to international security, as before, still emanates from the superpower policies of aggression, expansion and hegemony. No one with any common sense will believe that through another disarmament conference which is tantamount to an "empty talk club," the Soviet Union and the other superpower will abandon such policies and bring peace and security to the world.

The convocation of a world disarmament conference is said to be a contribution towards supporting the national-liberation movement. Wang Ming-hsiu dismissed this assertion as ridiculous. He went on: Countless facts have shown that it is the two superpowers which are undermining and suppressing the national-liberation movement. The present situation in the Middle East is a vivid case in point. Who could believe that the convocation of a world disarmament conference would make them reduce their armaments, abandon their policies of aggression and expansion, give up their evil ways and turn over a new leaf? The Soviet Union tries to use the disarmament conference to spread illusions about peace and paralyse the fighting will of the people. National liberation depends mainly on the people's struggle, and the "disarmament conference" is of no help to it. The Soviet Union also asserts that convoca-

tion of the world disarmament conference will contribute to the social and economic progress of the developing countries. This too is utterly groundless. To say that the conference could compel the superpowers, imperialism and colonialism to stop their plunder and exploitation of the developing countries and provide aid to these countries with the money saved from disarmament is another lie. It is all the more a design with ulterior aims to ask the developing countries to disarm themselves and engage in peaceful construction with smug complacency. The developing countries already have a grave shortage of defensive weapons. If one asks them to further reduce their armaments, is one not intentionally asking them to disarm themselves in the face of foreign aggression? In the absence of any guarantee for political independence and state sovereignty, how can there be any talk about economic development?

#### Scheme Should Not Be Allowed to Succeed

The Chinese representative said in conclusion: "At present, the Soviet Union is again volubly saying that

the time has come to begin preparations for convening a world disarmament conference. We must be vigilant against this, and we must resolutely oppose and expose the multifarious deceptive tricks of the Soviet Union in proposing the preparation for and convening of a world disarmament conference, so as not to allow it to succeed in its scheme to cover up its armament race and aggressive expansion and lull and deceive the world's people by empty talk of disarmament. Some say it is preferable to have a conference started first and then various proposals can be discussed at it. Such an idea may be motivated by a good desire, but it will lead precisely into the trap set by the Soviet Union. In our opinion, since the superpowers have refused to set clear aims for the conference and refused to undertake the afore-said two obligations set forth by us, the current session of the General Assembly should not take a concrete decision on convening a world disarmament conference, nor is it advisable to proceed with the preparatory work by setting up any form of preparatory organ."

## Are They Preventing Nuclear War, Or Contending for Nuclear Superiority?

by Hsiang Ming

THE propaganda machine of the men in the Kremlin has been churning out loud praise for the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the prevention of nuclear war ever since Brezhnev signed it during his June trip to the United States. They have tried to impress the world by making a big hullabaloo about the agreement being conducive to "preventing the outbreak of nuclear war in general" and an "apex in the achievements" of Soviet revisionism's "peace diplomacy."

Recently the Soviet Foreign Minister again crowed at the U.N. General Assembly session that this agreement "contributed to a significant improvement in the international climate." He even went so far as to ask other countries to "adhere" to the "principles" jointly formalized by the agreement.

Of the eight articles of the agreement, however, not one stipulates that the two parties will refrain from the use of nuclear weapons. Isn't it strange that they should talk about averting nuclear war without banning the use of nuclear arms? If a treaty *per se* is confined to empty talk without undertaking any unequivocal obligations, how can an agreement like this have any binding force on the signatories?

Another wrinkle in the agreement is that it steers clear of the two superpowers' nuclear arsenals. In spite of the agreement, the United States and the Soviet Union

can continue to produce and improve their nuclear weapons, ship them from place to place and stockpile them. Scarcely was the ink on the agreement dry when the Soviet Union stepped up its underground nuclear tests, went all out to trial-produce multiple warhead missiles and expanded its nuclear armament in a big way. Not to be outdone, the United States made it clear that the Soviet move would be countered by a new round in the nuclear arms race. This explains why, notwithstanding the signing of the agreement, the two signatories have been locked in still greater contention for nuclear superiority, and the threat of nuclear war looms larger. Under the circumstances, the profession "prevent the outbreak of nuclear war in general" is absolute nonsense.

What merits attention is that the agreement stipulates: "If . . . relations between the parties or between either party and other countries" "or if relations between countries not parties to this agreement appear to involve the risk of nuclear war . . . the United States and the Soviet Union . . . shall immediately enter into urgent consultations with each other . . ." This amounts to a declaration that the two are to interfere in everything under the sun. In other words, the contention between the two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, has been extended to the

four corners of the earth. And sure enough, no sooner had the recent Middle East war erupted than the two "entered into urgent consultations," doing all they could to bring the situation under their control. The Soviet revisionists who do not allow any chance to slip by even tried to use the "ceasefire supervision" as an opportunity to send their troops to the Middle East so as to wrest a greater power of control. Alarmed, the other superpower ordered a worldwide military "alert" of its forces as a precaution against any possible Soviet move. From this it can be seen that things in the world today do not necessarily take the course charted by the superpowers. And when something does happen, no "consultation" can cover up the very essence of the contention between the two hegemonic powers.

Besides the "prevent nuclear war" claim, the agreement also professes to refrain from the use of force. It claims that "each party will refrain from the threat or use of force against the other party, against the allies of the other party and against other countries, in circumstances which may endanger international peace and security." Just what are the "circumstances which may endanger international peace and security"? This all depends on how one likes to interpret the circumstance. For instance, five years ago the Soviet revisionists resorted to the barbarous use of force in Czechoslovakia, but they preferred to call this an action out of "concern for the destiny of peace" in Europe! Every magician has his own way of producing his rabbit. There is nothing you can do about it when an aggressor is smart enough to describe invasion and occupation by force as a contribution to peace!

The Soviet Union and the United States have signed quite a number of agreements euphemistically known as "nuclear disarmament." But every time they concluded such an agreement, their nuclear arms race took a big stride forward. A "partial nuclear test-ban treaty" was signed in Moscow in 1963. But in the ten years that followed, the United States and the Soviet Union have conducted more than 400 underground nuclear tests. The Soviet revisionists have carried out as many nuclear tests as they did before the signing of the treaty, the only difference being that the tests were underground instead of in the atmosphere. In the first ten months of this year, they conducted 15 underground nuclear explosions, as many as in the year 1971 when the number of nuclear explosions was the biggest in the last nine years. Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles have increased over 15 times in the last ten years. In 1968, the Soviet Union and the United States concluded a "treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons," but they have been contending as before for superiority in nuclear weapons and their carrying vehicles. The number of Soviet nuclear missile submarines rose from seven in 1968 to 39 in 1972. A so-called agreement on the "limitation" of offensive strategic arms was signed in 1972. But the result is that the two parties have been stepping up testing of various new-type nuclear weapons. To bring their intercontinental ballistic missiles up to date and thus strengthen their nuclear striking

force within the "quota" set by the agreement, the Soviet revisionists have worked with a vengeance at testing new intercontinental ballistic missiles launched from the ground and underwater, especially missiles with multiple warheads.

Now there is the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the "prevention of nuclear war" of June 1973. But while the praises of the agreement were still ringing, word came that the Soviet revisionists made progress in manufacturing missiles with multiple warheads. U.S. officials promptly made it known that the manufacture of a bigger and more powerful new ICBM to counter the Soviet Union was under consideration. U.S. Defence Secretary Schlesinger said that the United States must keep its military expenditure at a high level since the Soviet Union is keeping iron fists in the velvet gloves of detente.

It is plain that the Soviet Union has gained time through various agreements on false disarmament and is trying to catch up with and surpass the United States in both quality and quantity of strategic weapons. Naturally, the latter will not throw in the sponge. Here one can clearly see that the two superpowers, while signing one agreement after another, are locked in round after round of the battle for nuclear supremacy.

In today's world, only the Soviet Union and the United States are in a position to fight a major nuclear war. While often boasting that the nuclear weapons in their possession can wipe out the other side many times over, both nuclear superpowers are still engaged in large-scale production, development and stockpiling of nuclear arms to step up the contention for nuclear superiority. Waxing eloquent about its peace rhetoric to deceive people, Soviet revisionism, in particular, is working hard on arms expansion, especially nuclear arms. If one is ready to be influenced by the U.S.-Soviet agreement, noted the Federal Republic of Germany paper *Generalanzeiger*, then the following question must be put: Why don't they throw their nuclear weapons into the sea one after the other?

One single concrete action is better than a dozen empty programmes. Gentlemen of Soviet revisionism, if you cherish peace so dearly, and are so anxious to prevent nuclear war as you have professed, how about matching your words with some sort of action, however negligible it may be? Leaving aside the basic question of preventing nuclear war by total prohibition and complete destruction of nuclear weapons, why, up to now, don't you even dare to undertake the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and under any circumstances? Why do you refuse to undertake a definite commitment with regard to the Latin American non-nuclear zone? Why do you refuse to pull back your nuclear forces from abroad and dismantle your nuclear bases overseas? If you do not even do one or two such things, the least that can be done to help improve the international situation, then nobody will have faith in you no matter how many agreements you sign and how loudly you blow your own trumpet.

# Two-Line Struggles in the Party Will Exist For a Long Time to Come

by Yi Piao

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**I**N the course of criticizing the towering crimes of Lin Piao, a superb teacher by negative example, we have come to realize, among other beneficial things, that "for a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party," as the political report to the Tenth Party Congress profoundly pointed out.

The prolonged existence of two-line struggles within the Party is the objective law governing the development of inner-Party contradictions. From beginning to end, contradictions are present in all things, and the interdependence of the contradictory aspects and the struggle between them push forward the development of all things. In class society, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle which, when reflected in the Party, become two-line struggles. This is why inner-Party struggles constantly go on and some people are bound to be in opposition to the correct line. There is nothing at all strange about this and it is inconceivable that tranquillity will prevail and everything is plain sailing. There is no such thing in the world which is absolutely pure, and this is also true of the Party. There is always dust on the floor even if it is swept for 24 hours on end and, likewise, fish cannot survive in water without there being impurities.

Chairman Mao says: "Outside any party there are other parties, inside it, there are groupings; this has always been so." Here the word "always" points to the protractedness of two-line struggles within the Party. So long as there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, two-line struggles in the Party reflecting these contradictions will exist for a long time to come. As Lenin put it, "The socialist revolution is not a single act. It is not one battle on one front, but a whole epoch of acute class conflicts." This is a correct conclusion drawn from studying society and history by employing the basic materialist-dialectical law of the unity of opposites.

Just as class struggle pushes the advance and development of society, the two-line struggle propels the Party's advance and development. "If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end." Even in communist society where classes will have disappeared, there will still be two-line struggles, and the interdependence of the contradictory aspects in all things and the struggle between them will remain the basic motive force impelling the advance of society. Even then, there will still be contradictions to a greater or lesser extent between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production

and the productive forces, even though they will be in harmony with each other. Since people will still see things in a different light, there will be ideological struggles as well as two-line struggles reflecting these contradictions—between the new and the old, the advanced and the backward and the correct and the erroneous; only they are different in content from the current two-line struggles.

A host of historical facts testify to the long-term existence of two-line struggles in the Party. From its very inception, the international communist movement has gone through complex and acute two-line struggles. It was only after nearly half a century of struggle against Proudhon, Lassalle, Bakunin and Duhring as well as pseudo-socialists of all descriptions that Marx and Engels managed to spread Marxism widely in the international workers' movement and establish and develop the proletarian political party. Lenin devoted his whole life to protracted and uncompromising struggles against Bernstein, Kautsky, Machists who had sneaked into the Russian Communist Party, Trotskyites and Bukharinites, thereby consolidating and developing the Bolshevik Party and founding the first socialist country in the world. Since its birth, the Communist Party of China has waged ten major struggles between the two lines in the Party over the last fifty years. Though Lin Piao died in an air crash, the two-line struggle in the Party is far from coming to an end. Persons like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao will appear again and inner-Party struggles between the two lines will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. This is independent of our will.

Having summed up the experience of two-line struggles at home and abroad, Chairman Mao has formulated for our Party the basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and taught us to "recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle." As far as the entire historical stage of socialism is concerned, our country under the dictatorship of the proletariat has only a very brief history, but our Party has gone through several major two-line struggles in the short span of 20 years or so. It can thus be seen that we must be fully prepared ideologically for the inner-Party struggles between the two lines which are at once protracted and complex.

There are domestic and international causes for the prolonged existence of two-line struggles in the Party. That revisionists constantly appear in the Party is due to the existence of the influences of the landlords and bourgeoisie in the country. This is the domestic source

of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is the external source. Speaking of the landlords and bourgeoisie, Lenin noted: "On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeois." So long as such influences exist, they will inevitably find expression in the Party in the form of two-line struggles. This calls for long and arduous struggles in order to completely eradicate the landlord and bourgeois influences, do away with the hotbed from whence they emerge and uproot them. Meanwhile, we are faced with the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism, revisionism and reaction, so there will still be long struggles between subversion and anti-subversion and between aggression and anti-aggression. Class enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for them to take the field themselves.

This is especially so under the dictatorship of the proletariat. With Marxism finding its way ever deeper into the hearts of the people, the landlords and capitalists who are already quite odious in society invariably look for agents in the Communist Party. Both Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao represent the interests of the exploiting classes and are agents of imperialism, revisionism and reaction. Liu Shao-chi's downfall was followed by the thorough smashing of the scheme of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. But will imperialism, revisionism and reaction take their defeat lying down? No. "And so once again every seven or eight years.

**Monsters and demons will jump out themselves.** Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out." Time and again, imperialism, revisionism and reaction will seek their agents in our Party, while the latter who are the flunkies of the landlords and capitalists will constantly change their tactics in setting themselves against us and make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom.

The birth and growth of revisionism shows that its emergence is not by chance but is the social outgrowth of an entire historical era. That is to say, revisionism is the concomitant of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. It follows from this that the struggle in the Party against revisionism can by no means be accomplished in one or two generations; it is a fighting task of the proletariat during the entire historical era of the proletarian revolution.

Lenin long ago pointed out: "It was absolutely inevitable that adventurers and other pernicious elements should hitch themselves to the ruling party. There never has been, and there never can be, a revolution without that. The whole point is that the ruling party should be able, relying on a sound and strong advanced class, to purge its ranks." Under any circumstances, we must remain sober-minded and be fully prepared ideologically for the protracted struggles between the two lines in the Party. In these struggles, so long as we distinguish right from wrong, persevere in the Marxist line and oppose the revisionist line, all schemes hatched by the landlords and bourgeoisie as well as by imperialism, revisionism and reaction are doomed to failure. No matter how many more major two-line struggles may take place, they can never change the inexorable law of historical development.



### Socialist Industry

## Putting Politics in Command

by Our Correspondents

SHANGHAI'S iron and steel industry has developed rapidly. Daily steel production now exceeds the record yearly output under Kuomintang reactionary rule. The city has become a booming iron and steel base.

The No. 5 Iron and Steel Plant on the city outskirts is one of the biggest of Shanghai's several dozen such enterprises in operation. The site is a mass of factory buildings with tall chimneys. The glow of molten steel pouring out of the converters and electric

See the other articles on socialist industry: "The Workers Are the Masters" and "The Masses Innovate," *Peking Review*, Nos. 26-30, 1973.

furnaces at night lights up the sky—a big contrast with barely 15 years ago, when the place was a sea of waving reeds with only the croak of the frogs to break the silence.

Last year's steel output catapulted 46.5 times as compared with 1958, the year the plant was built.

### The Motive Force

What is the motive force behind such rapid development?

Bourgeois and revisionist elements have always maintained that, without the "profit motive" for an enterprise and "material incentives" for the workers, production will remain static.

We asked a leading member of the No. 5 Plant for his opinion on this.

Former rank-and-filer Mei Ho-chun is vice-secretary of the plant Party committee and vice-chairman of the plant revolutionary committee. He said: "That's what the bourgeoisie and revisionists believe in—Liu Shao-chi and his followers also talked a lot of guff about it. But it isn't true. Take our plant. We didn't develop because of the 'profit motive' or 'material incentives,' but because we followed the Party's basic line in the socialist period and the general line of 'going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism,' and grasped revolution and promoted production. In a word, we put politics in command."

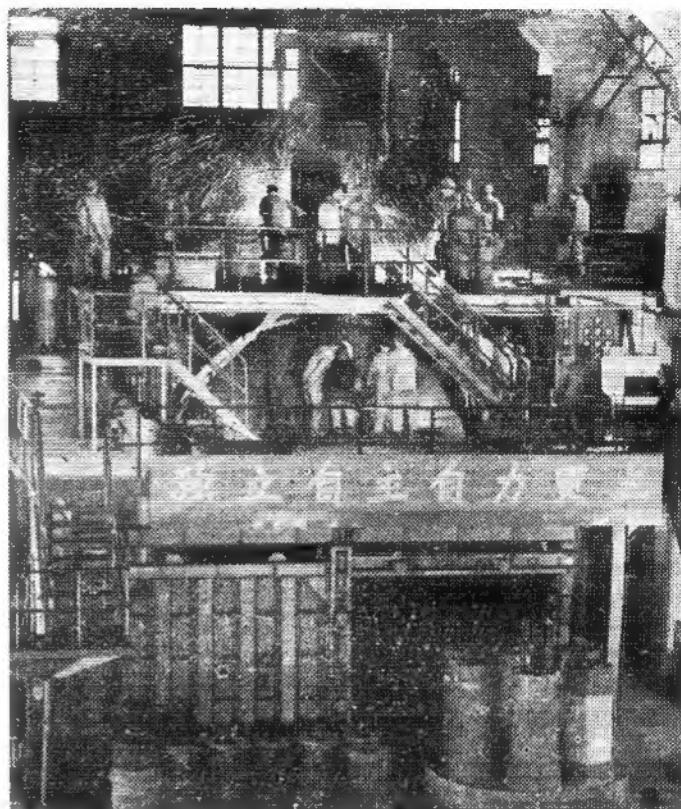
Comrade Mei told us about the plant's inception and growth.

In 1958, the socialist revolution in China won basic victory in the transformation of the ownership of means of production. In agriculture and handicrafts, individual ownership changed into socialist collective ownership, and private industry and commerce changed from capitalist to socialist ownership. The struggle against the bourgeois Rightists was carried out throughout the country in 1957, and the socialist revolution won a resounding victory on the political and ideological fronts.

As elsewhere in the country, a great leap in socialist construction soon took place in Shanghai. The No. 5 Plant was one result of the 1958 big leap. The Party's general line for socialist construction and its policy of "energetically building up the iron and steel industry" greatly heightened the labour enthusiasm of the workers and staff. By 1960, the third year after being in operation, the plant's steel output had gone up to 26 times that of 1958.

However, in the early 1960s, "putting profits in command," "material incentives" and other revisionist drivel that Liu Shao-chi and his followers spread had some bad influence on the plant. Production was seriously hampered, and output fell.

Then came the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work. Their political consciousness enhanced, cadres and workers steadfastly carried out Chairman Mao's basic principle for socialist enterprises, that is: "Keep politics firmly in command; strengthen Party leadership; launch vigorous mass movements; institute the system of cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and of close co-operation among workers, cadres and technicians; and go full steam ahead with the technical innovations and technical revolution." Production jumped again. Steel output in 1972 doubled compared to 1966—and was 46.5 times that of 1958—while no appreciable changes were made in the number of workers, factory buildings and equipment.



Large vacuum refining furnace built by the Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Plant.

Vice-Secretary Mei said: "From our experience it's not difficult to see that the basic guarantee for the development of socialist enterprises is to persist in putting proletarian politics in command and grasping revolution and promoting production."

To oppose putting profits in command does not mean that socialist enterprises should be run at a loss, Comrade Mei went on to explain. On the contrary, as the workers raise their political consciousness, they try in every way to practise thrift and economy while increasing production in accordance with the growing needs of the state and the people, and pay attention to economic accounting and management. All this has enabled the plant to show a sizable profit every year. But as in all other state enterprises, these profits are handed in to the state treasury to be used by the state to expand socialist construction and improve the people's life. This, of course, has nothing in common with the "profit motive" advertised by bourgeois and revisionist elements.

#### Labour Enthusiasm

With proletarian politics as their guide, the plant's cadres, workers and technicians are showing tremendous revolutionary drive in their work. From the furnaces to the rolling machines, the people involved in every process are working and emulating one another with a will.

Last year's state steel and rolled steel production quotas for the No. 5 Plant were overfulfilled 13 and

(Continued on p. 23.)

# ROUND THE WORLD

## CAMBODIA

### A Year of Brilliant Victories

From the beginning of November in 1972 to the end of October in 1973, the Cambodian people and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia relentlessly launched powerful attacks against the enemy. They have wiped out large numbers of enemy effectives, captured large quantities of strategic materials, cut many strategic communication lines, tightened their encirclement of Phnom Penh and other cities temporarily under the Lon Nol clique's control and further expanded the Liberated Zone.

During this 12-month period, the Cambodian people and their armed forces killed, wounded or captured 178,000 enemy troops; captured 44,350 weapons, including various kinds of artillery pieces; seized 846 communication instruments; captured, destroyed or seriously damaged some 1,300 tanks, armoured vehicles and other vehicles; sank, set afire or seriously damaged 771 war and cargo vessels; shot down, burnt or seriously damaged 292 enemy planes; and demolished 1,588 enemy barracks and posts.

While putting large number of enemy effectives out of action, the people's armed forces grew steadily stronger and raised their level of combat efficiency.

Responding to the call of "gun in one hand and hoe in the other" issued by the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the people in the Liberated Zone have energetically developed farming and actively supported the front. They have brought a new look to the Liberated Zone which makes up over 90 per cent of the country's territory.

Dissatisfied with the Lon Nol clique's reactionary rule, large numbers of inhabitants in the enemy-occupied zone have fled to the Liberated Zone. Some 240,000 have

gone there in the last six months alone.

## WEST EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET

### Forthcoming Summit Meeting

The Foreign Ministers of the nine West European Common Market countries met in Brussels on November 5 and 6. They unanimously agreed to accept French President Pompidou's proposal for a meeting of state and government heads of the nine countries by the end of this year. They also decided to recommend that the meeting should take place in Copenhagen on December 14 and 15 to discuss the Middle East situation, relations between Western Europe and the United States as well as other questions.

Pompidou made his proposal at a cabinet meeting on October 31. He pointed out at the meeting that the stoppage of fighting in the Middle East and the negotiations had been carried out without the participation of Europe and that such a practice by the Soviet Union and the United States was dangerous. He proposed regular meetings of state and government heads of the Common Market countries "with the aim of taking up and harmonizing their attitudes within the framework of political co-operation" so as to show their "ability to contribute to the settlement of world problems."

Pompidou's proposal has been welcomed by France's E.E.C. partners. The French authorities officially announced on November 5 that in a letter to Pompidou the same day, British Prime Minister Edward Heath had agreed to the proposal.

F.R.G. Government spokesman Wechmar said at a press conference in Bonn on October 31 that the Federal Government welcomed the French President's proposal.

Italian Prime Minister Rumor told the French Ambassador to Italy that his country looked favourably on all moves to promote political union of the European nine.

Supporting the proposal, Danish Prime Minister A. Joergensen suggested on November 2 Copenhagen as the venue for the summit meeting.

## LONDON

### International Marine Pollution Conference

The International Marine Pollution Conference was convened in London by the Inter-Government Marine Consultative Organization from October 8 to November 2. It was attended by 665 delegates from 79 countries and areas and many international organizations. Measures and rules, including the convention aimed at eliminating pollution of the sea by oil and other noxious substances, were discussed. The International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution From Ship, 1973, and other documents were adopted.

Many representatives from countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America declared that a sovereign state has the right to take measures to prevent pollution and protect her environment. They pointed out that it must be guaranteed that pollution will not cause damage to another state and that a coastal state can prosecute a vessel in her port for violating the convention.

During the discussion on the term "jurisdiction" in the convention, the Soviet representative repeated the rubbish that "the term 'within the jurisdiction' in the context of the present convention should be interpreted as meaning the territorial waters within 12 nautical miles." He was refuted by many delegations. The Canadian delegation issued a statement saying that "no rule of existing international law supports the interpretation of the term 'jurisdiction' advanced by the delegation of the U.S.S.R." A statement issued by the delegation of Ireland said: "Nothing in the present convention can be construed as derogating from the power of any contracting party to take measures within its jurisdiction in respect of any matter to which the convention relates."

The convention adopted by the conference will be forwarded for consideration to the U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea.

## LIMA MEETING

### Latin American Organization Of Energy

The Third Consultative Meeting of Latin American Ministers of Energy and Petroleum took place in Lima from October 29 to November 2 with representatives of 24 Latin American and Caribbean countries participating.

After five days of discussions, participating ministers announced the formation of the Latin American Energy Organization aimed at defending and rationally utilizing the member countries' energy resources.

In their speeches, many participants stressed the importance of setting up the organization. Prime Minister Edgardo Mercado Jarrin of

Peru, the host country, said: "The recovery of national sovereignty and the defining of an independent policy inevitably involve an anti-imperialist position," and "a real anti-imperialist policy calls for repudiation of all forms of domination by any country over another." "This domination finds expression not only in the presence of the foreign monopolies which control our economy, but also in the so-called international division of labour which, as is usually imposed on others, gives the industrialized countries, whatever their ideological labels, the power over the under-developed countries," he added.

Peru's Minister of Energy and Mines General Jorge Fernandez

Maldonado, who was elected chairman of the meeting, told the opening session that to form the Latin American Organization of Energy is to reject "the attempt of any big power to exert any form of paternalism or domination over us." He also pointed out at the closing session that the organization should not only serve to promote member countries' economic development, but should also zealously, unitedly and militantly defend their right to safeguard their energy resources.

Twenty-two Latin American countries are reported to have joined the organization whose executive secretariat is to be set up in Quito, capital of Ecuador.

(Continued from p. 21.)

26 per cent respectively. After four plant-wide discussions early this year, the decision was made to show still greater initiative and top this year's state quotas, which had been raised on the basis of the 1972 achievements.

At the No. 1 electric furnace workshop we were struck by a headline on the workers' blackboard newspaper: "Let's do our best!" Young production group leader Hua Chiu-sheng, a member of the workshop's general Party branch committee, took us around. Pointing to the overhead travelling cranes, he said that all three of them and the three electric furnaces as well had been improved on by the workers in the past two years to increase efficiency. Instead of 12 tons, each furnace can now hold 18 tons of raw material, and the carrying capacity of the cranes has gone up from 20 to 30 tons each. These and other innovations have boosted production from 70,000 tons in 1970 to 90,000 in 1971 and to over 120,000 tons last year.

"How about this year?"

Hua said: "At the beginning of 1973, some cadres thought another big rise impractical unless more workshops, equipment and manpower were added. But when the production plan came up for discussion among the workers, they said: 'We'll make the necessary conditions for raising production ourselves.' One worker criticized the cadres, saying: 'You're always thinking of more buildings and equipment and other material conditions, but you don't take into account our revolutionary spirit, which has become higher since we took part in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work.' So the quota went up and up, from 130,000 tons to 140,000, and finally to 145,000 tons."

Not only did the workers discuss the plan, they also went into action and worked out ways and means to ensure increased production. Besides fulfilling their steel quota this spring, they made a new electric furnace which increased the workshop's daily output by 23 per cent.

Workers in other workshops had similar accounts. The No. 12 rolling workshop, for instance, overfulfilled its 1972 state plan by 67 per cent. Not content with this, the workers drew up a plan this year to top the new quota — already much higher than last year's — by 25 per cent.

In many places in the plant we saw the following slogan written and heard it on people's lips: "An all-out effort in studying and in the criticism movement will help us achieve great success." That is to say, by studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the Party's line, principles and policies diligently and criticizing in a thoroughgoing way the revisionist lines and counter-revolutionary crimes of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, the workers and staff aim to enhance their revolutionary spirit still further so as to increase production. This slogan came from the workers when the Party committee led them in discussing the year's production plan.

Such a slogan and the lofty mentality it reflects is beyond the comprehension of bourgeois philistines and revisionists. The Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Plant's development, like all socialist industry in China, clearly proves the truth that the workers, who have now become the masters of their country and their enterprises and are armed with advanced thought, will display boundless strength. Magnificent ideological-political flowers will certainly bear rich economic fruit.

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